World War I was far from a unifying force on the Australian homefront. Class, religious, ethnic, and ideological divisions, already evident in Australia, were exacerbated by social conflict accompanying the great conflagration (1). Anti-German sentiment was one dominant feature of this divided society. Two months after the war was declared, most German nationals in Australia were interned and, over the subsequent 4-year period, others were physically abused, forced to resign their jobs, expelled from clubs and associations, had their homes stoned, their property destroyed, and their children forced from schools. Anything German was resented. Some people refused to drink “lager” beer or eat “frankfurter” sausages, while others objected to the music of Beethoven, Wagner, and Brahms. By 1918, the names of nearly 100 Australian towns had been changed to remove any hint of Teutonic heritage (2).

One prominent aspect of this discrimination was the propaganda about Germany and its allies, which was disseminated through the popular press. This paper will address several key questions related to propaganda of the period: What role did sport play in constructing images of soldiers of the Central Powers? How do these images in the Australian press compare with those reported in the British literature? In what ways were Allied soldiers, in particular Australian soldiers, depicted in the sporting context? And finally, how did sporting propaganda contribute to the ideological terrain of the Great War?

Propaganda has been an integral part of human history. Its theoretical and philosophical origins lay with the ancient Greeks. The Romans used it effectively, as did the early Christians. It reached new heights in the religious conflicts of the Reformation, and it was an essential component of the American and French revolutions (3). World War I, however, was responsible
for the elevation of propaganda to an unprecedented level. During the war, opposing belligerent forces developed and utilized sophisticated techniques. Their legacy is that the term propaganda is no longer viewed neutrally—as a dissemination or promotion of particular ideas—but has far more negative connotations. For the purposes of this study, the latter view is considered, and propaganda is defined as "the deliberate and systematic attempt to shape perceptions, manipulate cognitions, and direct behavior to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist" (4).

Alice Marquis, in her analysis of material written during the war, has identified eight basic categories of propaganda: stereotypes, pejorative names, selection and omission of facts, atrocity stories, slogans, one-sided assertions, "pin-pointing the enemy," and the "bandwagon effect" (5). To highlight the presence of propaganda and to illustrate one particular form that it took, consider the following excerpt from a prominent journal in Australia:

Modern warfare, they contend, is essentially the imposing of every kind of horror on the enemy until he is so morally outraged and dazed that his physical powers of resistance are destroyed. The idea of a fair fight, fair play, smacks of primitive barbarism. The Huns indignantly repudiated the English calling a certain chivalrous Hun officer a "sportsman." A Hun paper thanked God that the German army did not contain such an abortion as a sportsman on its rolls. No German officer could be such a fool as to subordinate the scientific business of his profession to sentimental considerations. So we are fighting against a type of cold, logical intellect that does not admit the existence of a heart. We are fighting against beings as revolting as the octopi of Wells's Martians. According to the Huns, it is we who are the barbarians: we still attach a meaning to such terms as "sportsman" and "man of honor." They are a people without a soul—and proud of that fact. (6)

In this passage, six of the eight popular forms of propaganda were utilized and have been represented in Table 1.

One strong theme of the preceding passage was the deliberate, unsporting portrayal of the German soldier. This was achieved by indicating that there were no sportsmen in the German Army, that they did not value the concept of a "sportsman," and, in fact, that they viewed this concept as a term of derision.

This image was artistically enhanced in a cartoon that appeared in the leading Australian sporting newspaper, the _Referee_ (8). The choice of cricket as the focus for the cartoon was very appropriate. More than any other game, cricket epitomized many facets of British life, as it was closely associated with imperialistic ideals, the concept of a cultural bond, and stood for claims of white English superiority (9). Australians could relate to the game because it was not only part of their heritage, but also it was a common vent for nationalism and often served as a yardstick of colonial develop-